1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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strong feeling that a man who has acquired two wives or all the issue of his gawel's first wife should allow his younger brother to have his share of the women from the gawel and mokul. The older brother, however, has the first right to them, and his gawel will ask his permission before giving the third daughter to the younger man. He will say: "It is better that your yukiyuko have this woman, for you have two already, and he has none. It is better that I have more waku to help me." Unless the older brother is an extraordinarily selfish person, he immediately replies, "Yes, you tell him to feed her" (give her to him for a wife); and he helps his younger brother procure the presents he must give gawel and mokul for this wife.

Mutual help prevails between wawa and yukiyuko in giving frequent presents to gawel and mokul. When wawa is making presents for his first wives, yukiyuko gives him spears, game from the hunt, and whatever wawa might like to present to his parents-in-law. When yukiyuko's turn comes, wawa is equally helpful. There is no obligation on yukiyuko to make presents to wawa for the latter's right to the galle that are to come to the former. Rather, wawa frequently asks gawel to give his other daughters to yukiyuko and makes presents to gawel for this purpose. Several motives guide him in this procedure. The first is brotherly affection and family pride. Own brothers through one father and one mother or father's brothers and mother's sisters are one's best friends, and most like one socially. Then there is frequently the fear that yukiyuko will fornicate with wawa's wives. This is no uncommon thing; the jungle and Australian bush offer ample opportunities for secret meetings. An old man usually suffers this indignity in silence, since he knows that his senility forces his wives to go to other men for sexual satisfaction and that his younger brothers who will inherit them are the proper ones for them. If the older brother has this situation too forcibly thrust upon him by camp gossip, he must attempt to discipline the younger man by scolding him—but "he doesn't talk very hard." Among younger men this would cause considerable trouble and would not happen very often except among tribal brothers, the whole pressure of society being against the younger man: all the relatives in his male line and those of the clan would defend the rights of the older man and condemn the younger. Finally, an older brother always helps a younger brother to acquire a wife because it settles the younger man and tends to prevent his getting into trouble with more remote wawas, yukiyukos, and other kin, by

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593 Thus far, the whole relationship is one of solidarity, and little potentiality for conflict appears.

835 595 Murngin polygyny usually implies that a man will acquire wives throughout his lifetime. Through the operation of tribal laws a very old man frequently gets young girls for wives. All these women are arndi to the sons, but often young men cohabit clandestinely with their father's younger wives. These must be only tribal relatives of the sons' actual mothers. Even so, the practice is considered wrong, but the feeling is not strong enough to prevent a sexually active son from [578] cohabiting with a father's wife. Should the old man discover it, he would be very angry and reprove his son by calling him a dog, et cetera, but it is generally agreed that an old man beyond the age where sexual life interests him would not "growl very hard."

582 593 835 578 Sometimes when a son is too young to marry, a father may take his boy's galle as a wife (she is "small" arndi to the father) to keep someone else from getting her, because of the son's immaturity. The son would call this woman arndi until the father's death; then he inherits her and calls her galle. Any children born to her by the father would be called yukiyuko or yeppa and not gatu by the son. Frequently a son considers it his right to copulate with her (not openly), which causes the father much pain. The younger man would have abuse heaped on his head, but there would never be a fight over such a problem, or any other, between a father and son so long as they belonged to the same clan; however, a dispute between "sons" and "fathers" of different clans often leads to fights and occasional killings.

593 ●606 If a daughter runs away from her husband (the father's waku), the father with the aid of his sons brings the runaway back to his waku. She receives a beating from him and is advised to remain faithful to her husband. Quarreling daughters who are the wives of one man are instructed by their father to live in peace, for he considers the welfare of his waku of the greatest importance. He and her brothers [557] also keep his daughter's totemic name for her since she is not allowed to know it.

603 602 *Marikmo* ⟷ *Muraitcha* (diramo and mielk)[9] (father's father; father's father's sister ⟷ son's son; son's daughter; brother's son's son; brother's son's daughter)

This relationship conforms to the father-children type, having the same five varieties as found in the bapa-gatu relationship.

[9] *Diramo*, man, male; *mielk*, woman, female.

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The marikmo-maraitcha reciprocation is far less powerful than the wawa-yukiyuko or bapa-gatu relationship. The female marikmo is seldom considered at all. A marikmo diramo is of more importance to a maraitcha diramo after death than before. It is largely because of this post-mortem relationship that the living tie is of importance. 603

A spirit child comes from the water hole of the clan where the spirit of the dead marikmo is. This marikmo takes a special interest in the unborn child. A maraitcha receives some of his names, including all his totemic names, from his marikmo diramo. A maraitcha mielk receives her names from her female marikmo and mari. 603 775 551

When a man dies, the spirit of his marikmo comes out of the well for him, and takes the dead man's good soul[10] back to the well whence it had come as a spirit child. When a man lies dying, the spirit of marikmo (also mari) comes to his maraitcha and calls for the spirit to come out and join him. The natives believe that sometimes just as the man dies, while the heart is still beating, the marikmo's spirit enters the heart, and that is why the heart continues to beat. He then takes the soul of the dead man out of the heart and leaves for the other world through the dead man's mouth. Frequently, the spirit of a dead marikmo fights with the mokoi (the evil ghosts who live in jungles) for the spirit of the dead man, for they claim it as theirs. The father and others paint the body of the dead man or woman with the design of the totemic water hole and sing a totemic song so that marikmo can hear and lead his maraitcha to the totemic well and save it from the attacks of the mokoi. 603 775 [763] [764]

When the bones are exhumed the women carry them for a time. A marikmo mielk helps in this, but her participation is small and of little importance. 603 [765]

A marikmo diramo has a claim on a man's canoe. Both male and female marikmo seem to acquire what powers they have because they are in the patrilineal line and are pale reflections of the father.

*Mokul Bapa* ⟷ *Gatu* (diramo and mielk) (father's sister ⟷ brother's child) 604

The varieties of mokul bapa correspond to those of bapa. The mokul bapa, say the natives, is a kind of female father. No taboos surround her relations with gatu except the ordinary restrictions between men and women of the same moiety. Gatu diramo looks upon her not only as a sister to his father, but also as a mother of his dué, a most important person. [606]

[10] Birimbir, warro; see Glossary of Native Terms.

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604 855 When a mother goes away with the father for a trip to distant kinspeople, the older children are left with the mother's sisters, the mother's mother, or the mother's brother. The children turn to the near mothers for food and care with the same feeling as to their own mother.

593 628 A mother is deeply fond of her children. Maritcha saved the life of a young man about fifteen years old when some of the former's clansmen plotted the boy's death. The mother heard of this. Maritcha's clan and her own had had a feud for many years, yet from gratitude she attempted to help Maritcha and stop her own people from fighting him at a later time.

841 When a girl has her first menses the mother helps paint her and take care of her.

861 626 593 There is constant tribal pressure on a mother to be good to her children. No Murngin mother would dare correct her children in the manner of a European woman, for she would be considered cruel and inhuman. Camp gossip and opinion would uniformly condemn her and liken her to an animal. On the other hand, there is less restraint on a son and daughter concerning their mother than in our own society. They frequently curse her, and there is no taboo on the conversation used before her.

604 606 Little arndi (son's wife) occupies a different place in the kinship system, although the general behavior toward her would be the same as toward the true mother (see page 72). Waku in this case would also be a different person. He would be father's sister's husband or husband's father to small arndi.

If a small arndi's husband runs away she goes back to her mokul bapa (husband's mother) until he returns or until she has been given to a younger brother of the husband.

603 *Nati* ⟷ *Kaminyer* (diramo and mielk) (mother's father ⟷ daughter's child)

There are two types of this relationship since there are a female and a male kaminyer and only a male nati. There are five varieties of nati: (1) gawel's and arndi's true father; (2) brothers of this nati; (3) brothers of momo married to marikmo; (4) near nati; and (5) distant nati.

603 835 Nati always feeds his male kaminyer, but not the female because he and she would be afraid people might think he was trying to seduce her. He would also be afraid that she might think so herself. The

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602 553 shall be given, which means that the father chooses the names from his marelker.

602 Kutara and mari always come to each other's assistance in times of danger. When a camp quarrel is being aired kutara invariably stands at mari's side. If one of them is killed the other will aid the avenging party. A black magician's tales of his killings speak of a mari who had lost his kutara in a spear fight and had come to the magician [154] for aid to buy back his kutara's life. The sorcerer slew the kutara's killer by magic, and the mari paid for it with many handsome gifts.

[431] Presents are always being exchanged between kutara and mari. When ranga string is being given away after some of the big ceremonies, mari and kutara are always prominent in the exchanges.

775 When kutara dies mari's spirit always comes for him, along with marikmo's. If the deceased was a young man, the dead mari's spirit condemns his relatives for not giving the child better treatment and for not preventing his death. They always explain to his mari's spirit that they have done all they could to keep him alive. Mari helps marikmo's spirit take the dead soul back to its totemic water hole and helps protect it against the evil ghosts who try to steal kutara's soul. So, in death as in life, mari is kutara's protector and guide. In [852] the Djungguan circumcision ceremony mari's totemic name is always called out by his kutara, as is marikmo's, and it is believed that the spirit of mari appears at that time, although it is not seen.

602 [867] Mari is usually the person who really teaches kutara his manners. Mari is powerful not only because of his direct relationship with kutara, but also indirectly, for he is father of mokul (mother-in-law) and marelker (mokul's brother); he is marelker to kutara's bapa, and wawa or yukiyuko to mari mielk, who is mother to kutara's gawel.

602 606 The fact that mari is father to kutara's mokul, the woman with the strongest taboos around her and one who is very important to kutara, gives kutara a strength he would not otherwise possess. He can force mokul to give her daughter to him if the mokul is unfair about it, since mari can put pressure not only on her but on her husband, who is gawel to kutara. Mari occupies, because of this relationship with kutara's gawel and mokul, one of the most powerful positions. A man's whole position, security and well-being demand that he have a number of wives and children; he must look to gawel and mokul for the fruition of his wishes; if his mari and he are on good terms, which nearly always holds true, his mari will force these two to help him. In other words, the relatives with whom ego is weakest are those with

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whom his mari is strongest, and the latter's position in both power and relationship is exactly the opposite of his kutara's.

Mari mielk also occupies a position of considerable importance. She looks out for kutara when he is small. Instances of a man's having a greater affection for his mari mielk than for his own arndi were recorded several times. Mari mielk corrects the children when they are mischievous or bad-mannered. Chastisement is hardly ever practiced, but ridicule is effectively used. Her name is also called out in the sacred Djungguan ceremony when a boy is being initiated. She sometimes helps build the house for a man to live in after gawel has given him a wife. She can always be depended on for food. Kutara would also remember her, as he would her brother, if he had killed any game. When kutara kills his first emu or kangaroo, she helps carry the bones when they have been painted with red ocher, just as she carries kutara's bones after his death. She is important by indirect relationship, because she is mother of ego's mother and gawel, mokul bapa to ego's mokul rumeru, and mokul rumeru to his bapa.

To sum up, the relationships of mari diramo to kutara diramo and of mari mielk to both the female and male kutaras are the most important in the second ascending and descending generation, whereas the relationship of mari diramo and kutara mielk is of little importance.

*Mokul* ⟷ *Gurrong* (diramo and mielk) (mother's mother's brother's daughter ⟷ father's sister's daughter's children)

There are two types of this relationship, built on the fact that there are a male and a female gurrong. The relationship between mokul and gurrong diramo is very important, but that of the two women is of no significance. We will consider only the former. The fundamental fact is that mokul is the mother of gurrong's wife, and to her he is the man to whom she gives her daughter in marriage.

There are five varieties of mokul: (1) the actual daughter of ego's mother's mother's brother and mother of ego's wife; (2) the mothers of ego's wives who come from distant clans; (3) the daughters of actual mari, but not the mothers of ego's wives; (4) the daughters of near mari; and (5) the daughters of mari from distant clans. The two most important are the first and second, the third having a very strong emotional content; but as regards taboos the behavior toward all of them is more or less the same.

The whole relationship of mokul and gurrong is one of complete

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602 606 mutual avoidance. He cannot speak to her; she cannot speak to him. He does not look at her; she does not look at him. They do not hand any article to each other or use each other's names. Should they meet on a path they each turn aside and walk past with their eyes averted. There is no direct contact between the two, except in very unusual cases or in times of great emotion, such as during a fight, when a man or a woman is not aware of what he is doing. Their whole relationship is an indirect one.

602 867 A child before circumcision is exempt from the avoidance rules because he is considered too young to understand them. After this he is told to observe all of them in his relationship with all his mokul. A young mokul is also told at an early age that she must observe all the taboos surrounding gurrong. If a mokul has become very old it is possible to talk to her, receive food, and be near her, but the relationship is always most formal and reserved.

602 753 606 Should a mokul or gurrong disobey any of the taboos unwittingly (it would happen in no other way), a sore or large swelling would appear in the groin of the offender. Several persons were so afflicted, and all their tribesmen believed them to have broken this taboo and to be suffering the penalty.

602 606 Mokul and gurrong may be near each other around the same fire. An observer would not notice their avoidance unless aware of the custom and the relationship of the individuals; it then becomes quite marked.

602 606 431 This taboo does not imply any animosity between the two, their indirect relationship usually being most pleasant. A man is proud of his mokul and boasts of her kindness to him. She always sends him food and her most prized possessions through her daughter, and he sends presents to her through his wife. She, too, is equally proud of her gurrong, and tells of his many kindnesses to her.

602 606 [586] If a man's galle misbehaves, mokul would always help him discipline her. Only in cases of extreme cruelty would the wife's mother take her part against the husband. If a gurrong is neglectful of his duty in giving presents to his parents-in-law, there is always a chance that, during the early part of a marriage before there are any children, the daughter will be taken away from him. The mokul takes a prominent part in this action, for she feels that he must look out for her.

A mokul who misbehaved herself as a wife to gawel would find her gurrong against her and he would help gawel punish her.

For a full appreciation of her relationship to gurrong, it is neces-

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sary to read the account of the gawel-waku reciprocal, keeping in mind that this waku is her gurrong when she is wife of the gawel.

Mokul and gurrong mielk are not taboo to each other. This relationship has no restrictions upon it.

*Marelker* ⟷ *Gurrong* (diramo and mielk) (mother's mother's brother's son ⟷ father's sister's daughter's children)

The same varieties of the marelker-gurrong relationship are found among the Murngin as the mokul-gurrong, since marelker is the brother of mokul; but the marelker-gurrong relationship, as well as that of marelker and gurrong diramo, is quite different. Avoidance and restraint are lacking between marelker and gurrong diramo; the two men are frequently together, particularly if ego has a son, because marelker is mari to the boy. Marelker is as fond of the child as its father and shows it as much attention. Gurrong makes presents to marelker whenever he gives anything to mokul, for as marelker is mokul's brother he has considerable control over her. The only taboo between the two men is that neither uses the other's personal names.

Marelker diramo and gurrong mielk are partly taboo to each other. They do not speak each other's names, and because of the moiety are sexually taboo. One of the most amusing stories in Murngin folk lore is an account of marelker seducing his female gurrong, the whole point of the story being that marelker is made to do the very things he is supposed to avoid in his daily behavior with gurrong.

*Natchiwalker* ⟷ *Dumungur* (diramo and mielk) (mother's mother's mother's brother's son ⟷ father's sister's daughter's daughter's child)

This relationship is built on the pattern of the nati-kaminyer reciprocity. Natchiwalker is important largely as a brother of momelker. His name is taboo to dumungur, and dumungur's is taboo to him.

*Momelker* ⟷ *Dumungur* (diramo and mielk) (mother's mother's mother's brother's daughter ⟷ father's sister's daughter's daughter's child)

Momelker is taboo to dumungur diramo just as fully as mokul is to gurrong diramo. She is the mother of mokul and she is also mokul to ego's gawel. Ego therefore uses the same behavior to her as does his gawel. There are no taboos between momelker and dumungur mielk. This relationship is unimportant.

There are the following varieties of momelker: (1) blood mother

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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ritual occasions. Nevertheless, and notwithstanding their binding ritual and economic obligations, the descent group as such is the only unit to which one may turn to obtain aid which will be given more or less automatically.

As Leach has said (1951:53), "the network of kinship relations embraces a great number of local groups [corporate descent groups] and ties them into a kind of loosely knit political system; but throughout the population so linked there is no strong sense of social solidarity and in some cases there are even wide differences of language [as among the linguistic groups] and culture [not in this case, however] between different parts of the one system." That is to say, the usual characteristics of tribal organization are lacking; and it is for that reason that these people of eastern Arnhem Land belong to what I have called the Wulamba bloc, speaking a number of related dialects of one language which in tóto are referred to as Miwoidj.

## V. CONCLUSIONS

The Wulamba material carries a number of general theoretical implications. These concern primarily, in this context, the corporate or unilineal descent group. The minimal propositions discussed by Leach (1951:52–53) mainly refer to the question of relationship between wife-givers and wife-receivers, and the differentiation of status. These arguments regarding the relevance of status concepts to the analysis of "bride-price" (i.e., bride-wealth) and dowry have not been followed up to any extent here. The status concepts which do exist in Wulamba social life, and are reflected in their kinship system, are those dependent on seniority and reinforced by ritual and sacred ceremony. Other factors linked with status considerations are the prestige attaching to fighting ability, to proficiency in magic, and to parenthood as such. Status derived from these sources need not coincide with ritual and ceremonial status, nor with status associated with seniority in a descent group or a linguistic group. Nevertheless, discussion of all these features would be relevant in any detailed study of kinship and social organization (see Sharp 1934:418–20). But status dependent on being a "wife-receiver" or "wife-giver" is to my mind not relevant. A man's status is not necessarily derived from or enhanced by his being a "wife-giver." It so happens that the "wife-giver" will be socially "superior" (although the term "superior" has connotations which I do not think are applicable here), but he is possessed of this status whether or not he accedes to the expectation that he will give his daughter to his Sr.S. I admit, however, with Leach, that a more detailed analysis is necessary of the economic aspects of the effects of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. As he states (1951:45), "the reciprocities of kinship obligation are not merely symbols of alliance, they are also economic transactions, political transactions, charters to rights of domicile and land use."[9]

Leach points out that when Kachin-type marriage (and presumably Wulamba marriage) occurs—i.e., matrilateral cross-cousin marriage—it is part of the political structure. Now this may certainly be the case among the Kachin, or among certain African groups, but is it the case among the Wulamba? Our

777 the fine powdery dust (*känno*),[20] of the ceremonial ground,
778 and declared that the turtles were therefore "*yarkomirri*"
[796] (lit. "bearing a name", i.e. sacred). A rite was performed to remove the tabu, before the flesh could be eaten by the
[431] uninitiated. Even then those people, other than members of the totemic group, who ate the flesh, were called upon to make a payment of the type previously described, called *tadoit*, in this case to the fully initiated members.

182 Reference has been made to the obligation to hunt which
[461] a man incurs in order to provide animal food for the
431 women upon whom he must depend for the large quan-
[561] tities of food which he requires to meet the periodic
[796] ceremonial presentations which mark almost every stage
● 606 of initiation as well as the termination of each critical stage
604 in his life. This obligation is especially stressed in his relationship with his *mukul rumaro*[21] (potential mother-

[20] *Känno* is really ash, fine, white, powdery wood ash. This man was said to be "*kälya kännomirri*", "skin with ashes", because the white dust of the ceremonial ground was still on his body and carried its *marr*.

[601] [21] As this paper may be read by many economists who may not have anthropological training, some reference to the kinship system of the aborigines may be of assistance. Under the system which is called "classificatory", the terms of relationship allied to the family and to near kin are extended to a number of people with whom no actual genetic relationship can be traced but who are grouped or classified with own kin. A man applies the term "father" not only to his own father but to all the people his father calls "brother" and this system is extended indefinitely. These terms expressing relationship are used instead of personal names, as terms of address. This system has the effect of reducing greatly the number of actual terms in use. But kinship terms are not mere names, for each carries with it a set pattern of behaviour. In Arnhem Land a man applies the term *mukul rumaro* (mother-in-law) to the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. He knows that he may look to this woman to provide him with a wife or wives and the pattern of behaviour

in-law), and with the particular *kauwäl* (mother's brother) who is the husband of this woman to whom he applies the term *mukul*. Before the potential mother-in-law has a daughter, even before she is pregnant, he may begin to send her gifts of food. These progressive gifts have a cumulative effect and build up goodwill. They are divided into two series, to each of which a special name is applied. The first series are *milmarr*, while those given to the mother-in-law after the birth of a daughter are known by a different term, *mundur*. As my informant said, "that is hard work for me; she pays me back," i.e. by giving her daughter to me in marriage. They believe that this special form of giving has more than a "goodwill" effect, and that *marr*, the spiritual force or power to which I have referred, goes with the food, so that it has a greater significance than the white man would attach to it—and much greater than its mere value as food. The same applies to the special ceremonial gifts of food and *gerri* which are presented by the novitiate at various stages during his initiation to clan totems and to other cults. Implicit in this form of giving is the feeling which is even more important than "goodwill", that it places the recipient under an obligation to repay. To remain under such a debt is to accept a feeling of inferiority, of shame and humiliation.

In discussing the "drive", the urge to carry out the exacting hard work (which in a fully organised aboriginal society is everywhere in evidence) I have stressed the obligation which a man feels to reciprocate with a gift of at

toward *mukul rumaro* is one of rigid avoidance. He may not speak to her nor she to him, but he has very definite obligations towards her (*mukul rumaro*), including the obligation to provide her with certain animal food, with progressive gifts of a special type described above.

182 least equal, or if possible greater value, in order to maintain
431 his social status and to enhance his prestige. He achieves
461 this by his capacity to reciprocate a gift quickly and gener-
554 ously. If he failed to meet the obligations imposed, for
626 example by the kinship pattern, he would lose face, prestige, in his group. It will be evident that this feeling of shame and humiliation at failure to reciprocate a gift or to honour an obligation, apart altogether from any danger of incurring resentment and visitation by evil magic, furnishes one of the most powerful mechanisms which underlie the production of food and goods, and the circulation of these. This is well shown by an example given to me by my informants, which illustrates the use which can be made of this fact
262 to gain a desired objective. While a boy is still regarded as
562 a child, there is no tabu even for his sisters upon eating the
784 food that he may capture. But immediately after the circumcision ceremony, when his social status is altered and he lives apart from his mother and father in the single men's camp, the food collected or killed by a boy becomes tabu to relations of certain orders, and is now known by a special name, *kälŋboi* (*vide* page 21).

262 The eating of all *kälŋboi* food is surrounded by tabus,
431 even for those relatives who are permitted to partake of it at
784 all. For "outside" or "distant" relatives under the kinship sys-
606 tem to eat this *kälŋboi* food is a special privilege, but the
584 obligation to make ceremonial return payments, again of the type called *tadoit*, is always present. *Kälŋboi* food may sometimes be used to ingratiate a young man with a woman who stands in the relationship of potential mother-in-law (*mukul rumaro*) to him, but whose daughter has already been promised (*wawun*) to another man some distance away. At first the *mukul rumaro* may refuse the *kälŋboi* food, but under coercion she may at length accept it, and

if she does so, is regarded as having compromised herself into giving her daughter to the youth whose *kälŋboi* food she has eaten, although she knows that a fight must follow when the man to whom the girl rightfully belongs learns what has happened. Having accepted the *kälŋboi* food the woman also makes a ceremonial presentation of food which she gives to her *korroŋ* (son-in-law), who however does not eat it himself but distributes it to certain other relatives, defined by custom.

This example will show the strength of the urge to reciprocate, to discharge an obligation, and the extent to which it dominates the behaviour of these people, as well as its importance as a driving force in social and in economic activities, in which it furnishes one of the most important incentives to work.

192 431 The giver knows that his gift must be reciprocated eventually and he gains much satisfaction from the anticipation of this.

(2) *kännän gurrupän*, a free gift, pure and simple, without any reciprocal obligation, as between *gurruto* (relations) of certain orders, and *mulkuro* (strangers), where there is a unilateral obligation to make presents. [574 609] To strangers, especially to visitors, it is customary, even obligatory, to make gifts of food or *gerri*, but as these people do not come within the normal kinship horizon there exists no established code of behaviour towards them and reciprocation is therefore not expected.[24]

(3) *baka bäkmärämma*, (lit. tail break), i.e. "to turn back the tail", to reciprocate. A present with definite reciprocal obligation. This type of giving carries the obligation to make a return gift or payment at once, and is quite different from the vague and indefinite obligation which characterises gifts of the *yanna gurrupän* type.

[606] (4) *milmarr, bundur*, the name applied to special forms of cumulative giving of gifts to relatives of certain

[24] The importance of discovering some bond between individuals in Arnhem Land society, in order to establish a code of behaviour, is stressed by the fact that those outside the kinship system are called *mulkuro*, (strangers). When I asked a native who was short of tobacco if he had asked a certain white man he replied at once: "*Yuta bällända dual'—mulkuro*". He is a new white man that one—a stranger (with the implication "and therefore one with whom I have no bond, towards whom I have no established pattern of behaviour"), that is, one whose reactions there is no means of predicting.

orders (mother-in-law and husband of mother-in-law[25]) to build up goodwill, *märaŋguma*, lit. "to build up *marr*" (see page 37) and deliberately intended to leave a feeling of obligation (*vide supra* page 43).

(5) *buku djauyun*, straight-out exchange or barter, in which one article is balanced against another. In Arnhem Land, where the ceremonial aspect even of transactions in which commodities change hands, is stressed, it is the "giving" that is the important matter, the rite, the gift and counter gift, rather than the assessment of its value or equivalent (see below no. 6).

(6) *mälli*, buy or purchase. The idea of direct purchase is foreign to the Arnhem Land socio-economic pattern and probably owes its origin to the influence of Indonesian culture. In former times the Macassar voyagers arrived on the coast of Arnhem Land with the north-west monsoon and dispersed along the coast to their regular fishing stations, vessels returning again and again to the same areas which they had visited in previous years and where they set up depots on shore for the boiling and smoking of *bêche-de-mer* or trepang.

The Macassar voyagers recognised the native ownership of land, and the people say that they paid tribute each season to the owners of the territories for the right to fish for trepang and pearls. In referring to this *payment* by the Macassar visitors it is significant that the natives used the word *mälli*. My informants stated that the natives themselves did not actually work for the Macassar trepangers but occa-

[25] The special status of this man as the recipient, depends chiefly upon the fact, not that he is *kauwäl* (mother's brother), but that he is the husband of *mukul rumaro*, wife's mother, actual or potential.

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Wongar men, things would have been different. Both the men and the women were Dua. They were incestuous. It was like a brother and sister being together. Those two sisters left that country, one pregnant and the other menstruating. If they had not done this, this cycle would never have happened. Everyone and all plants and animals would have stayed single. But after the Wawilak sisters had done this they made it the law for everyone (pages 250-251).

When I was a small boy I walked about single. One day my gawel came to me and said, "Look at me. I am your gawel. You must give me kangaroo and turtle and spears. By and by I will give you my gatu mielk" (pages 93-98).

I gave him spears and spear-throwers, hair belts, and all kinds of food because he would give me his daughters. When I first started making presents to him for my wife, my younger brothers all helped me. By and by, when they get ready to have a wife, I shall help them make presents to their gawels. My gawel gave my father presents of spears and food, and he also gave my arndi presents because I was her son and because she is my gawel's sister.

We like our wives' fathers very much. Suppose my gawel and my father quarrel and suppose they fight. I can do nothing. I cannot help my father. I cannot help my father-in-law. I must do nothing. They are all the same to me. I must try to stop any fight.

All men try to get plenty of wakus in other countries. This is because they send presents to their gawels. They send things that aren't in this country. This country, where we are now, has no stone. Relatives here send presents to the Ritarngo country for stone spear heads. They send bamboo to the Goyder River people for it. Some others have no white clay and they send to other countries for it. Fathers-in-law and sons-in-law are the people who do this (pages 95-96).

Sometimes a no-good gawel promises his daughter to three wakus. All these "half" sons-in-law give presents to him. They all think they are going to get that girl. By and by one gets her. This means a big row. The other two want to fight this lucky one, and they always fight the father of the girl because he has been two-faced. They think this gawel maybe is a little bit crazy. Sometimes two or three boys, when they are all trying to get a girl, see that her father is no good and they all quit.

When a man marries a woman his father-in-law tells him to take good care of her. When a man has two daughters from his father-in-law, sometimes the old man comes and says to him, "It is better that I give your younger brother this next girl." The older brother says, "Yes, you tell him

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159 to feed her [give her to him]"; but if he is a greedy fellow he says, "No, I
584 want to keep her myself."

159 The black man's custom is different from the way white men are. A
[582] black man takes a wife when she is very young, sometimes before her
593 breasts have come. He sleeps with her, loves her, and does everything but
[826] have intercourse with her. This makes his girl want him and makes her breasts come large and start sticking out. That is before her blood comes.
[841] When blood first comes to a woman it is after she has copulated with a man for the first time. That is what causes it. She has blood a few more times, and then she has a baby, and then the blood stops.

159 If my wife gave me no children, I would go to my gawel and tell him. He
587 would say, "Wait a little while and I will give you another daughter of mine
595 so that you can have children." If my wife died, my father-in-law would give me another one right away. If he hasn't a grown daughter, he would wait until his little one got larger and then he would give that girl to me.

159 When my second wife got large enough her father and mother brought
595 her to me and said for her to stay with me and that I was her husband (pages 95-96). My first wife [the new wife's older sister] did not growl at me but kept very quiet when I was around. When I was away she growled at her little sister and told her to go on away. "Mahkarolla belongs to me and not to you." By and by my new wife told me about this. She also told her mother and father.

[826] They said to my first wife, "You must stop this quarreling with your sister. She is just the same as you. You are our daughter and she is our daughter. You have Mahkarolla for a husband, and we have given her to him and she has him for a husband. She is your young sister. You will now have someone to look out for the wood for you, and she can help you get food for your husband."

My wife kept quiet then. Those two sisters live together just like good friends. They never fight like the wives of some husbands do. They look out for each other's children.

159 When another gawel liked me he went to my proper father-in-law and
584 said, "I like that son-in-law that belongs to you. I would like to give him my daughter. He can be a son-in-law of mine, too." My gawel, because he is a good man, said, "You haven't promised that girl of yours to somebody else, have you?" If that man had said, "Yes," mine would have said, "No, you can't because that will make trouble for my son-in-law." That man said, "No," so my father-in-law said, "Yes."

159 My mother-in-law—I don't talk to her. I can't go close to her camp, can't
606 go pick up something close to her camp, can't take food from her. I can't give food to her straight; I must give it through my wife. When I am

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around her I can't talk high; I must talk low. It is just the same for her. I can't look at her when we are close. If I go along a path and meet my mokul I must leave that path. I must leave that path and go another way. If I walked along a path and did not see her and accidentally touched her, her sweat would make me swell up in the groin. My sweat would do the same thing for her.

My mother-in-law is a very good woman. I like her very much. She is very good to me. She always saves all the tobacco she gets and keeps it for me when I have no more. I always send her the best of the kangaroos I kill and the turtles I spear. She always says nice things about me to other people. I hear them and it makes me feel good. When my mokul gets a little bit old and she can't have any more children and she looks a little like a man and has hair on her face, then I can talk to her and she can talk to me. We must be very serious when we do this (pages 101-103).

I like my mother's mother [mari] very much. I like her best of all. She is more my mother than my own mother. When I was little, she looked out for me more than my own mother. She gave me plenty of food. She carried me when I was a baby. I like my mother's sister next best, then my mother. My mother's sister was very good to me, too (pages 96-98).

My true father died when I was small. My mother and we children went to my father's yukiyuko [younger brother], as is the law of our people.

Having an old woman for a wife is no good. She can't have a baby. She is too old. If a man doesn't have children he won't have any sons and daughters-in-law, and he, when he is old, won't have any food and plenty of spears and plenty of tobacco. It is no good having an old woman. She is all the same as rubbish.

My wife is not like that—she is young. She is a very good woman. She always looks straight ahead and keeps her mouth very still when she is around other men. She never talks loud. Sometimes, when I am away too long, she won't give me food when I come back. She thinks I have been away too long. When she does this I sit down and wait a while and say nothing. It is better to keep quiet. Then I say, "Well, what are you mad about?" She says nothing, and her face looks different. I can see by how her heart is beating that she is wild inside. I keep asking and asking. Then she tells me she thinks maybe I have stayed away a long time and have been with some other woman. She thinks maybe I haven't been hunting and I have been fooling her. Clear inside she knows this is not true, and by and by she gets quiet and gives me something to eat. Sometimes she thinks when I have been away that I have an old sweetheart and that I go out all the time to see her. After she has growled for a long time I say nothing and then I say, "No, I have no sweetheart. If I did have I would come and tell